# LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

## August Bebel

J. V. STALIN

## Labour Party Jubilee

R. PAGE ARNOT

## The Pope and English Politics

REV. STANLEY EVANS

March 1950

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# HARD THINKING

ONE of the most important things about election times is that people get down to doing some hard thinking. Our February circulation figures are conclusive proof that hard thinking has been in progress. When I prophesied that British readers would find the Election Special number a canvasser's handbook, I took the words out of their mouths. It would be impossible to quote from even a handful who snatched time to write and tell me so. This is the keynote: 'You have done a smashing job with the February number all right. No one needed to fear to go on the doorstep with that in his pocket', writes a Londoner. The West Coast: 'From cover to cover a searchlight on the real election issues; and I mean—from *cover to cover*'. Hard thinking at election time: harder thinking afterwards. A word to those who wrote for a second copy because their newsagent had sold out and they had passed their own copy on to a new reader: see he or she gets this March issue too. We of *Labour Monthly* don't merely attend to the real issues once in five years, but all the time. And to our many new readers I'd like to say this: 'If you found you needed this tool with the cutting edge to hack through the misrepresentation that hedged you in last month, you will need it even more in the stern days ahead. This magazine should be in your public library; if your newsagent is out of it, he can quickly order it for you; if you prefer a postal subscription there is a form on the back cover. And, by the way, pleased to meet you!

Many have written to praise the illustrated covers of the Election Special and the Stalin Special. From Glasgow: 'May I, as a casual reader, comment on the attractive covers which have adorned the December, 1949, and the February, 1950, numbers? A little change of scenery does a bit of good'. A Notts. reader writes to say that he feels bound to congratulate us on 'the fine portrait of Stalin'. A fellow journalist told me that it was the best thing of its kind that he had seen for a long time. We pass these tributes on to the artist and craftsmen who did the magnificent job of reproduction. 'Why haven't you gone in for these before?' asks a comparatively new reader. The short answer is that the wartime paper control, only just lifted, limited the weight of paper we could use and hit us hard. We had to use the thinnest text paper obtainable and art paper covers are heavy. Now there is no technical reason preventing us increasing the pages, as we began to do in January, using thicker paper and a heavier cover. As our circulation, and development fund, expand we will add further improvements. Which brings me to the delicate question of money.

## A MERE SIXPENCE

Purses are feeling the pinch. End-of-year bills: the election fight: rising prices; jobs getting uncertain; times are hard and getting harder. Don't we all know it? Yet our readers actually *like* giving money to this Magazine of International Labour. (A typical postscript, from a Derbyshire subscriber: 'I have real pleasure in asking you to accept the balance for the fund'.)

*Continued on inside back cover.*

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## Notes of the Month

*(His election campaign prevented R.P.D. from contributing the Notes of the Month for this issue, but he will resume them in April.*—Ed., L.M.)

# *Jubilee of the Labour Party*

THIS is the Jubilee year of the British Labour Party. It came into being fifty years ago on February 27, 1900, as the Labour Representation Committee, which continued to be its title for six years until its present name was adopted. The opening celebrations of this Jubilee, postponed by the sudden decision to hold the General Election in February, before the harshness of the coming Budget was known, will be given the greatest publicity throughout Britain and used to fortify the support of the Labour Party. Nevertheless, the history of this Party from its birth as a joint committee of a few dozen smallish trade unions, with other and considerably smaller bodies, to its present vast size is of great importance to study and learn the lessons of its development. The lessons to be drawn range from its early days to the point when it took power five years ago



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in a British Empire which covered more than a quarter of the land surface of the globe, and within which supreme responsibility for the government of a quarter of the human race fell upon the leaders of the Labour Party. The period of its birth and growth coincides with the stage of monopoly capitalism. This stage in the history of capitalism is at once the background to its growth and the clue to its development.

**The "Romance" of the Labour Party**

The official histories of the Labour Party, either bare chronicles or panegyrics, do not try to make any thoroughgoing analysis of these fifty years, or to draw any but the most superficial lessons from them. For them it is simply a story of how, beginning with two Members of Parliament in 1900, 29 Members of Parliament in 1906 (whereafter the name 'Labrepcom' remained only as its telegraphic address), 42 Members in 1910, 57 Members in 1918, the new party climbed up to 142 in 1922, and thereafter with ups and downs culminated in 1945 with 394 Members of Parliament in such an overwhelming majority as had only twice before occurred in more than a century: of how at the same time it captured majority representation in vast numbers of Local Authorities from Parish and District up to Town and County Councils: of how its total affiliated membership swelled from under half a million to more than ten times that amount in the first twenty years; of how its leaders took responsibility of carrying on the 'King's Government' twice in war coalitions (1915-18, 1940-45) and thrice as Labour administrations (1924, 1929-31, 1945-50); of the voluminous new body of legislation, especially in the last Parliament: and finally of its policies in the field of executive and administrative activity. In the recent book of Francis Williams,* with its frontispiece of Keir Hardie, 'Apostle of British Socialism', and its preface by Attlee, the Party leader, this inevitably becomes the 'Romance' of the Labour Party—how from humble beginnings it rose through skill and devotion to the highest eminence, and how its outlook had been at once broadened and refined into a 'mixed economy' of 80 per cent. private and 20 per cent. public ownership—for which new conception of 'socialism' it devised no new title but kept the old label though the contents had changed. In fact the book resembles one of those vast altar-pieces of early Italian art, portraying the Church Triumphant, with angels and archangels, saints and seraphim, fore-runners and apostles, all in such a blaze of glory as lights up even the visages of the bad archangels—and indeed, Ramsay MacDonald and J. H. Thomas stand there, apparently 'pardoned in heaven, the first by the throne'.

* Fifty Years' March, The Rise of the Labour Party, by Francis Williams. (pp. 384, Odhams, 7s. 6d.)



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## The True History

The true history is different. It is of the transformation of a class party representing, in however elementary a form, the wage earners into a party whose proudest boast is that it is 'not a class party', that it represents 'all classes of the community'. It is the history of how an open breach of the traditional two-party structure of the British bourgeoisie was repaired, and the old structure re-established. It is the history of how what once appeared as a menace to the stability of capitalism was turned into its bulwark. The official history is of the lasting triumph of the Labour Party and the Labour Government; the true history is the short-lived triumph of reformism in a centre of monopoly capitalism.

## Beginning as a Class Party

When the Labour Representation Committee was formed in 1900 the basis of this federal grouping of trade unions and other bodies was very simple, and indeed, primitive. It was the offspring of a Trades Union Congress resolution the previous autumn, for the 'co-operation of all the co-operative, socialistic, trade union, and other working class organisations to jointly co-operate on lines mutually agreed upon', with the purpose of 'securing a better representation of the interests of Labour in the House of Commons'. Its first resolution was simply in favour 'of working class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movements', and its second 'of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament who shall have their own whips and agree upon their policy'. Thus the essentials of its basis were, first that it was to be independent of the capitalist parties in Parliament. In this it was fully in accord with the line prescribed by Marx in his address to the Communist League in 1850, that the working class must have its own independent party separate from the other parties. The Labour Representation Committee had no socialist programme, in fact it could scarcely be said to have had a view of society as a whole, but whatever else it was, it was most unmistakably a class party. It stood for the wage-earners as a class, for 'working-class opinion', Amongst its constituents there were three 'socialistic organisations' (Social-Democratic Federation, Fabian Society, and I.L.P.) who in the hope of some of its founders were to be the leaven within the loaf, were to be the salt of socialism.

## The Legacy of Gladstone

But there were other influences at work than those of socialism. For the second half of the nineteenth century, Liberalism, in the direct form of the Liberal Party (headed for most of the time by Gladstone), had got the mass organisations, trade union and co-operative societies, in line behind their banners. It was only after a



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fight of a dozen years and more that the socialists and Keir Hardie had won their initial great victory. The birth of the Labour Party was a resounding victory over all the concepts of the previous fifty years since the chartists of the 'thirties and 'forties had been defeated. But Liberalism, though suffering a severe defeat in this break-away of a few score trade unions from its party sheep-fold, made its way back into the new organisation, and that in two ways. First, some of those appointed by the unions in the Labour Representation Committee to be their candidates were themselves convinced adherents of the Liberal Party. For example, Richard Bell, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the only other candidate sent to Parliament with Keir Hardie in the 1900 General Election, was himself a Liberal and presently broke away and rejoined the Liberal Party in Parliament. Some of those unions which swelled the ranks of the Labour Representation Committee during the first few years had already had their representatives in Parliament, each of whom obeyed the Liberal whip; and who when their unions joined the Labour Party had to alter their whip, but hardly their outlook. These were the old ' Lib.-Labs. '.

**Liberal Socialism**

Second and much more serious was the influence of Liberalism in the form of Liberal-Socialism. This was an international phenomenon and an international struggle. A similar tendency was found in each of the developed Social-Democratic Parties in Europe, where it received such names as Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism. In Britain at that time and thereafter, it was chiefly channelled through the Fabian Society, whose aim was, as its Secretary said, ' to destroy the spell of Marxism within the Labour movement '. The issue was not fought out immediately, partly because after the first year or two, the Social-Democratic Party in an access of sectarian folly, temporarily left the Labour Representation Committee; partly because the leading Fabians took no prominent part as yet, being busy with the permeation of the Liberal and Conservative Parties; and partly because the I.L.P. had not as yet a settled political tendency.

**The Party and International Socialism**

In the first ten years the question of whether the Labour Party would fulfil the hopes of some of its founders, or whether it would be subjugated to the outlook of Liberal-Socialism, was still an open one. Consequently when on the motion of the Independent Labour Party its affiliation to the Socialist International was raised, in the autumn of 1908, it was possible for this proposal to be accepted. Organisations eligible for affiliation were Socialist parties who recognised the class struggle, and also mass organisations, such as trade



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unions, who accepted the same standpoint. The majority of the International Socialist Bureau (the minority was headed by Hyndman of the Social-Democratic Federation) voted for the affiliation of a party which though it did not directly ' recognise the class struggle ', nevertheless waged the struggle, ' and in fact, and by its very organisation which is independent of the bourgeois parties, is adopting the basis of the class struggle '. Lenin, as a member of the International Socialist Bureau and present at that meeting, was in favour of the affiliation, but on the quite different ground that the Labour Party ' represents the first step on the part of the really proletarian organisations of England towards a conscious class policy and towards a *Socialist* Labour Party '. This, of course, was a much more correct formulation than the motivation given in the resolution actually adopted; but in either case it was clear that the political tendency of the Labour Party was as yet unsettled and that it seemed to have still the possibility within it of developing in the direction of a truly Socialist Labour Party and ' conscious class policy '.

**The 1914 Betrayal of Socialism**

Within six years the majority of the Labour Party leaders had turned away from a ' conscious class policy '. The outbreak of war in 1914 was the final test. The Labour Party leaders had pledged themselves at International Socialist Congresses, at Stuttgart in 1910 and at Basel in 1912, to oppose their governments if the threatening imperialist war broke out, and to use the opportunity of the crisis that would arise from the war to bring about the downfall of capitalist class rule. Instead, they forsook their pledges, and in most countries of Europe, supported their capitalist governments and even, as in France and in Britain, entered those governments. This was the historic betrayal of socialism which split the working class in nearly every country of Europe. In Russia alone, the majority of the party of the working class, under the leadership of Lenin, held true to their socialist principles and carried out successfully the policy laid down by the International Socialist Congress. They opposed the government from the beginning and they utilised the war crisis to bring about the downfall of capitalism. But in other countries of Europe and particularly in Britain, the betrayal of socialism in the First World War illuminated as by a lightning flash the nature of the Liberal-Labour, Liberal-Socialist, reformist, or opportunist tendency within the Labour movement.

**The Roots of Reformism**

A tendency whose virulence came from the aid given it by the bourgeoisie had now openly deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie. It had represented not the mass of the workers, but that upper layer of the working class in imperialist countries that had been bribed by



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the crumbs thrown to it from super-profits extorted from the colonial peoples. The maturity of imperialism, i.e. monopoly capitalism, in the twentieth century, had lent the opportunists the strength to gain a dominant position especially in the Labour movement of Britain. That dominance, let it be said, can only be temporary; for while the financial oligarchy and the monopolies with their high prices can bribe small upper strata, at the same time the burdens of the working class grow heavier—and in any case, the growing resistance of the colonial peoples (or their complete victory as in China) puts a stop to the main source of their super-profits.

**A Labour Government—by leave**

With the First World War there began the general crisis of capitalism, the opening of an epoch of wars and revolutions—and, as a minor by-product, the end of the dominance of the Liberal Party in Britain. The Labour Party was hastily groomed to take its place. Just as in the first decade of the century the Liberal Party had sought to stem the socialist tendency within the working class by gracefully yielding parliamentary seats to the Labour Party, so now, in the second decade, it brought the Labour Party into office. The speech of the Liberal ex-Prime Minister Asquith, in January, 1924, as he gracefully inducted the Labour Ministry into office, made it unmistakably clear that by this means he was 'drawing the fangs' of an animal that had once been thought hostile to capitalism. But there had to be a *quid pro quo*: and that year at the Labour Party Conference there began in earnest the expulsion of all who were the implacable enemies of capitalism, namely the revolutionary socialists, or, as they were now called (in distinction from those who had smirched the name of socialist), the Communists. That year and the next completed the expulsion of the Communists.

**Transformation of the Labour Party**

The first step had already been taken in 1920 when the Communist Party (formed largely from the British Socialist Party, then an affiliate of the Labour Party) was refused affiliation by what was then a narrow majority. From the time the course was set as a 'bourgeois Labour Party' the dominant right wing leaders set themselves to extirpate whatever remained not only of the revolutionary minority, but also of the original all-inclusive working class basis. Not only was it to cease to be a class party—this was a key item in its first 'socialist programme' *Labour and the New Social Order* in 1918—but it was no longer to represent unity of the working class.

**The Hunt is up**

Hence the expulsion of the Communists was maintained and reinforced by every anti-democratic device until after 20 years (in



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1946) the subject was no longer allowed on the agenda of a Labour Party Conference. More and more it became clear that, though Labour governments might be chosen to administer capitalism, they could do so only on one strict condition—that they utterly abjured, reviled, detested and spat upon Communism, Communists, and any leaning towards Communism. In short, a bourgeois Labour Party must prove itself pure, by the most public and ceremonious repudiation of Communism. This led to a series of anti-democratic decisions and regulations, culminating these last two years in the infamy of the witch-hunt, while with a marked access of hypocrisy, the more undemocratically the Labour Party bosses behaved the more loudly and vociferously they proclaimed their adherence to Democracy. Tammany Hall all over again. What had been at first deplored as a ' regrettable necessity ' was now praised as a pattern of behaviour. Finally, after explaining the virtue of toleration of opinions with which you violently disagreed, as part of the ' British way of life ', Labour Party writers have been known to add that they cannot, however, tolerate the Communists because they so violently disagree with them, thus seasoning their hypocrisy with an extreme of illogicality.

**Look upon this Picture—and on that**

By the end of the 1924 government, the Labour Party had lasted nearly twenty-five years. Unlike most of the Socialist parties of advanced capitalist countries of Europe, whose beginnings were in the last quarter of the 19th century, it had not come into existence until the epoch of imperialism was ripe at the turn of the new century. The same was true of another great country of Europe, of Russia where the new century saw the birth of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (afterwards to be called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but both then and now known as the party of the Bolsheviks) took a very different course from its British contemporary. In that Party, too, there was a struggle between the revolutionary socialist tendency and the opportunist tendency. The former tendency gained the victory. Then, remaining true to the policy of socialism, the Bolsheviks led the victory of the working class and poor peasantry of Russia over the former ruling classes. Before the First World War, the main countries of Europe were ripe for social transformation. This was the significance of the description of imperialism at the last stage of capitalism. It was the threshold of socialism. The Bolsheviks alone crossed the threshold at that time. It was another threshold that the Labour Party crossed. From the beginning of the century till his death in 1924, Lenin was the leader of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party; for a still longer period, Ramsay



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MacDonald was the leader of the British Labour Party; the world of difference between these two parties is symbolised and summed up in the names of their respective leaders.

**MacDonald goes—MacDonaldism remains**

The second Labour Government began in 1929. It was just before the world economic crisis of 1929-33. After two years, when the Right-wing leaders tried to carry through the measures that might save capitalism by transferring the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working class, they met with great resistance from the mass of the organised workers. It was then in 1931 that the Labour Government suffered collapse when its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, together with J. H. Thomas and Philip Snowden, deserted to the camp of the Tories to form the first of the National Governments which afflicted this country for the next nine years. There was deep execration and hatred of Ramsay MacDonald at that time as an open traitor to the working class: but did the leaders of the Labour Party learn the lesson of this betrayal? Did they ponder on the significance of the fact that eleven years earlier Lenin had warned them when he wrote in answer to an utterance of MacDonald—'Ramsay MacDonald's article is the best example that could be given of that smooth, melodious, banal, and socialist-seeming phraseology which serves in all developed capitalist countries to camouflage the policies of the bourgeoisie inside the Labour Movement'. Alas, the lesson was not learned. Ramsay MacDonald left to become Prime Minister of the Tory-dominated National Government, but MacDonaldism remained as the guiding spirit of the Labour Party leaders.

**The third Labour Government**

It is not surprising, therefore, that the present Right-wing leaders, having gone to school under MacDonald in the first two Labour Governments, should have finished their higher education as pupils of Churchill, and after they became 'independent' of him and had settled down for the last five years in a Cabinet of their own, should still have followed faithfully in their foreign policy the instructions publicly given by him in the speech at Fulton, Missouri, just four years ago. The recent public bickerings have only served to accentuate the deep underlying unity of purpose that unites a Churchill and a Bevin in their common hostility to the land of Socialism and the People's Democracies.

**The New Bosses**

A new factor has entered with the dominance of American Capitalism and its subjugation of European states who have become



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the vassals and satellites of the U.S.A. In these satellite or 'Marshall' countries of Europe, the bourgeois Labour Parties must work hard to satisfy the new standards in betrayal of working-class interests that are demanded by their new bosses. A significant step two years ago was the blow to traditional civil liberties when Attlee instituted the purge inside the Civil Service, and the new Secretary of the Labour Party sought to initiate the purge against the Communists inside the trade unions. The inevitable next stage was reached in the attack on the working-class standard of living, in the first wage-freeze proposals of a couple of years ago. But the check to the last wage-freeze proposals of January 12, 1950, shows that it will not be without growing resistance that the Labour Party leaders will seek to turn the trade unions into organs for lowering wages.

**The End of an Old Song**

In 1858, Engels spoke of Britain as 'the most bourgeois of all nations' and said that it was 'apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable'. Well, they have had a long run since then. After the first political party of the working class, the chartists, had been defeated, the bourgeoisie were able for some fifty years to keep the working-class organisations largely within the fold of the Liberal Party. But in the last third of that half-century it became harder to do it, as the Socialists and 'New Unionists' tried to break the spell—for which they were rewarded by the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress of that day pointing to the Socialists Keir Hardie and Tom Mann, and shouting 'Hound these creatures from our midst'. In the half-century of monopoly capitalism, they managed to turn the beginnings of a class party that united every workers' organisation into an organisation that divided the working class and is 'not a class party'. This time they have had to encounter the opposition of the Communists, who are rewarded by General Secretaries of Unions and Labour Party chiefs with the same abuse and epithets as greeted Keir Hardie. But the bourgeoisie and its bourgeois Labour Party do not have another half-century to traverse. Far from exploiting the whole world as in 1858, they cannot even exploit the whole of their empire, which is being filched from them by the American millionaires where it is not being torn away by the revolt of the subject peoples. And when their super-profits go, the economic basis of their bourgeois Labour Party will depart also.

*February* 18, 1950 R.P.A.



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# THOU SHALT NOT MUZZLE THE OX

BRYN GRIFFITHS

As the tumult dies and the smokescreen lifts, the most significant event in the first quarter of 1950 in trade union circles stands out with an ever-increasing clearness. It was the dawn of realisation that the 'wages restraint' policy of the Trades Union Congress would stand whatever kind of Government were returned after the General Election. The first turn toward this, whatever conclusion each trade unionist drew as he approached the ballot box, began the very week the Election campaign opened, at the T.U.C. conference of executives on January 12. Here the Right-wing received a heavy blow when the majority in favour of their highly publicised wage-freeze policy, shrank from some 5½ million last September to 657,000 four months later.

Tewson, speaking for the General Council immediately after the conference, claimed that this slender majority of 657,000 (out of a total vote of 7,869,000) represented an acceptance by the movement of the General Council policy. Events immediately began to give the lie to that claim. Had the majority in favour of the General Council's proposals been decisive, there is little doubt that the fate of many of the wage claims already lodged with employers would have been sealed. But in fact unions with sliding-scale agreements based on the cost of living, as well as many others, decided forthwith to press on. The miners' demand for the lower-paid workers is going forward; the railwaymen maintain theirs; the engineers stand by their increase of £1 a week; and the building trade workers proceed immediately to revise their wage rates in accordance with the rise in the cost-of-living index. This has its effect, too, on sections of workers outside the ranks of the T.U.C., such as the teachers and even higher-grade civil servants.

The extent of the defeat of the Right-wing leadership is underlined by the fact that at the first meeting of the T.U.C. following the Executives' Conference, the expected statement of the General Council on this question was not forthcoming; they fell back on announcing that further steps were to be taken against the Communists inside the trade union and labour movement. A new stage has been reached in the fight to prevent the strongly entrenched capitalist forces in Britain from protecting and increasing their profits at the expense of the working class. More important still, the growing resistance to wage-freezing which this



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huge vote at the conference emphasised, is a warning that as the crisis develops the workers will wage a determined fight against all attempts to solve the crisis at their expense. This vote of over $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions reflects the sound, healthy, class understanding of the workers, who were not bemused by the wordy economic nonsense in the T.U.C. policy statement. They understood its essential meaning; they knew that what was proposed was a vicious cut in their real wages, whilst leaving the profits of the employers untouched. The T.U.C. policy statement even put forward a defence of the increased profits of employers engaged in the export trade!

The continuous rise in the cost of living—13 per cent. since the new Ministry of Labour index was introduced in June, 1947—is placing intolerable burdens on large sections of the workers. Devaluation, as even the T.U.C. grudgingly admits, is bound to result in a further substantial rise in the cost of living. The recommendation that there should be a halt in wage claims (except for the very low paid workers, and even these should be re-examined in the light of the present economic difficulties) is answered by the revolt of the workers, who are close enough to the economic facts of life to read the signs of the times. They can see the development of increased difficulties in world trade, the hardening attitude of the employers in fixing piece-rates, the inevitable growth of unemployment that must follow from these movements, the ending of overtime working, and the consequent reduction in earnings that will take place. These are the realities which lie behind the growing resistance to wage-freezing policies.

Coal-mining is one of the best illustrations; it is an industry where subtle propaganda has sought to make it appear that *all* mine-workers are among the highest-paid workers in Britain. Statistics are adduced to create this picture of over 700,000 highly-paid workers. Professor Bowley's index of wage-rates is quoted to show that since August, 1939, miners' wages are relatively higher than those of any other group of workers, including agriculture. The *Ministry of Labour Gazette,* in its latest earnings inquiry, quotes figures supplied by the National Coal Board, which show that during the week ending March 19, 1949, the weekly cash earnings of adults averaged 180s. 1d. The National Coal Board recruitment advertisements convey the impression that wages of £7 to £9 a week can be obtained in the industry by new entrants. All these figures are presented in such a way as to mislead. Average figures notoriously cover up gross inequalities. The miners' decision to reject the T.U.C. wages policy, despite a recommendation to accept from the Miners' Executive and a special Delegate Conference, can be understood when the detailed facts are given. The national



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minimum for adults in the coal industry is £5 a week for those on the surface and £5 15s. for those employed underground. The great bulk of the day-wage men get no more than the national minimum. No fewer than 60 out of every 100 of the 708,000 miners are day-wage men; between 350,000 and 400,000 are on the national minimum, and from this amount there are the usual deductions, insurance, etc. Further, if a man loses a day's work as a result of illness, he loses two days' pay, because one shift is a bonus shift, which is conditional upon working a full week. Therefore a day lost means not a loss of 16s. 8d. but 33s. 4d. to the day-wage man on the surface, and not 18s. 2d. but 36s. 4d. for the day-wage man underground. These, then, are the realities of the wages position in the coal-mining industry.

As Arthur Horner, the Miners' Secretary, told the Executives' Conference, in opposing the General Council's policy statement:

> Do not ask for what mysterious reasons the mineworkers have rejected this policy. The answer is simple and plain for all to see. They cannot live on the money they are receiving for their labour. There is no other answer, talk as we will about stabilising wages at a given point.

The miners also know that since the national minimum was raised in November, 1947, as a result of the increase in prices (the index rose during this period from 103 to 112), the £5 surface minimum wage is only worth £4 12s.—and the underground minimum of £5 15s.—only £5 5s. 9d. On top of that they were asked by the T.U.C. to exercise restraint until the value of the rates dropped respectively to £4 7s. 4d. and £5 0s. 5d. No wonder they rejected such a policy on a coalfield vote by 518,000 to 147,000. The point was well put by Horner:

> We are faced then with the fact that Demos has spoken, and spoken in no uncertain terms. For after all, it is not in the main the persons who are present at this Conference this morning who are going to be affected by the acceptance of this wages policy; it is, in the main, the workers in industry who will feel the draught of any decision at which we might arrive.

What about wages on the railways? J. Figgins, the Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, has said that no fewer than 170,000 railwaymen get less than £5 a week, a large number of them getting 92s. 6d. Mr. Arthur Deakin, with what might have been a calculated indiscretion, in a speech just before the T.U.C. documents were issued, said that the lower-paid people who might, within the T.U.C. statement, claim an advance were those earning from 79s. 6d. to 90s. a week. This would rule out Figgins's railwaymen. The 92s. 6d. railwaymen would have to exercise 'restraint' until the Ministry of Labour index rose to 118 (it was 112 when the T.U.C. issued its wages policy statement), or until the value of his wages dropped to 87s. 9½d. before he could be entitled to claim an increase.



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The claim made by the T.U.C. document that a ' wage-freeze ' was not intended, but that wages should only rise as a result of increased productivity, means that precisely the lowest-paid sections of the workers would be hit hardest by the increase in the cost of living; for it is these workers, in the main, whose wages cannot in any way be linked with production, because they are not engaged on measurable productive processes. Large sections of workers are on wage-rates below £5 a week. According to the latest annual figures issued by the Ministry of Labour large numbers of adults in the following industries are employed on wage rates between 90s. and 100s. a week: agriculture, pottery, seed crushing, light castings, engineering (labourers), shipbuilding (labourers), spring manufacture, brass-working and founding, electrical cable making, cotton-spinning and weaving, woollen and worsted spinning and weaving, carpet manufacture, tobacco manufacture, gas supply, post office engineering, coal and coke distribution, retail distribution, and large sections of workers whose wages are regulated by wage councils, where the rates range from 82s. 6d. for adult males to 96s. The bulk of these workers are asked by the T.U.C. to accept a further 1s. in the £ reduction in real wages, without calling for an increase.

If all the unions affiliated to Congress had consulted their members, as the miners did, it is certain that the recommendation would have been thrown decisively on the rubbish-heap. Horner of the Miners, having consulted the membership, was in the best position to reflect the mood and feeling of the men and women in mine, factory and workshop. Britain, he told the 1,542 Executive members assembled at the Central Hall, Westminster, has two positive assets. One is coal, the only raw material in quantity, and the other, the skill of 22,000,000 workers, the most highly skilled working class in the world. Said Horner:

> These are our positive features, and I say it is a grave mistake to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, for there is nobody else treading out the corn in this country but the workers of this country; and to seek to muzzle them, to hold back their desire for a just reward at the time when they are responsible for the maintenance of the life of the country, is a mistake that is almost unforgivable. They should be the last to be attacked, and not the first, for without their allegiance and support nothing can be done; Mr. Tewson can do nothing, the Economic Committee can do nothing, nothing any delegate can do can save this country; and the essential prerequisite of success is to maintain the support and allegiance of those workers and their families upon whom this country must depend in order to survive.

These are the real reasons for the revolt. The policy of ' restraint ' exercised since support was given to it in March, 1948, could not be carried forward further—the limit had been reached. In 1948, accord-



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ing to Ministry of Labour figures, 7,757,000 workers received increases in wage-rates, estimated at £98,717,000 a year; in 1949, only 5,198,000 received increases estimated at £55,832,000; in 1950 the T.U.C. proposals meant virtually an end to increases in wage-rates altogether. The official index of wage-rates rose by 1.9 per cent. in 1949, but the official cost-of-living index rose by 3.7 per cent. That is why wage-claims are proceeding and others are being presented.

One of the biggest dangers is the growing influence, in the ranks of the labour movement, of capitalist economic theories. The pioneers of our great trade union movement would turn in their graves at the assumptions accepted by the right wing leadership, that in order to compete at home and abroad the workers who produce the goods must receive a smaller return for their labour. To ask the trade unions voluntarily to abdicate the right of fighting to protect and raise the standard of their members, for which the unions were formed in the first place, in conditions of competitive capitalism, is asking the workers collectively to commit economic hara-kiri. These issues will be fought with increased intensity in every trade union annual conference this year, and the attempt by the right wing to create a diversion by attacks on the Communists will not stem the fight of the workers against the attacks of Capital on their living standards.



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# AUGUST BEBEL
## Leader of the German Workers

J. V. STALIN

*February 22 was the 110th anniversary of the birth of the August Bebel of whom Lenin wrote in 1913 that 'A workman himself . . . he became the most gifted parliamentarian in Europe, the most talented organiser and tactician, the most influential leader of international Social-Democracy, hostile to reformism and opportunism'. His speeches at the Hanover (1899) and Dresden (1903) Congresses of the German Social-Democrats, said Lenin, 'will long remain a model vindication of Marxist views and of struggle for the truly socialist character of a workers' party'. In reprinting today Stalin's tribute of exactly 40 years ago (never before published in English) to a life spent in the fight for revolutionary working class policy in Germany, the 'Labour Monthly' takes the opportunity of sending greetings to those who, fighting every inch of the way against hidden Nazis and their official 'socialist' agents, braving the slanders and smashing the conspiracies of American dollar imperialists and their British 'Labour' flunkeys, are step by step winning the German working class back to the traditions of Marx and Engels, Liebknecht and Bebel, for a Socialist Germany.*—Ed., L.M.

WHO does not know Bebel, the venerable leader of the German workers, once a 'simple' turner, and now a famous political figure before whose criticisms, as before the blows of a hammer, 'crowned heads' and renowned scholars have more than once retreated: the man whose words were followed as the words of a prophet by the many-millioned proletariat of Germany?

On February 22 of this year,* he was 70 years of age. On that day the fighting proletariat of all Germany, the International Socialist Bureau, the organised workers of all lands on the earth celebrated with due solemnity the seventieth birthday of old Bebel.

How has Bebel earned such honours, what has he done for the proletariat? How did Bebel arise from the bottom-most ranks of the workers, how from a 'simple' turner has he been transformed into the great champion of the world-wide proletariat? What is the history of his life?

Bebel's childhood was passed in poverty and privations. At only three years of age he lost his father, a poor, consumptive, non-commissioned officer. To get her children another breadwinner, Bebel's mother made a second marriage, this time with a prison warder. His

* In 1910.



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mother and the children moved from the barracks where they had lived up till then, into prison buildings.

But three years later the second husband died too. Left without a breadwinner the family migrated to his mother's home town in the remote provinces, where they lived half starved. Bebel entered a 'school for poor boys' which he successfully finished at 14, but a year before leaving school a new misfortune overtook him: he lost his mother, his last support. A complete orphan, left to his own devices, without any means of continuing his education, Bebel was taken on as an apprentice by a turner whom he knew.

A humdrum life of hard work began. From 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. Bebel was in the workshop. Some diversity was brought into his life by books: he spent all his free time reading. To do this he subscribed to a library those few coppers each week which he earned by drawing water for his master's wife every morning, before beginning work. Evidently poverty and privations not only failed to crush young Bebel, not only did not kill in him the striving for more light, but on the contrary tempered his will still more, increased his thirst for knowledge, prompted questions in him to which he eagerly sought the answers in books.

Thus in struggle with poverty there grew up the tireless fighter for the emancipation of the proletariat.

At 18 Bebel finished his apprenticeship and began life as an independent mechanic. At 20 he attended a meeting of workers at Leipzig and heard the speeches of worker-Socialists. This was the first meeting at which Bebel met worker speakers face to face. Bebel was not yet a Socialist. He sympathised with the Liberals, but he sincerely rejoiced at these independent speeches by the workers. He envied them—and in him there flamed up a desire to become a speaker for the workers like them.

From that time Bebel's new life began. He had a definite path before him. Bebel entered the workers' organisations and worked hard in them. Soon he became influential and was elected to a Trade Union Committee. Working in the unions he opposed the Socialists, acting together with the Liberals; but in struggle with the Socialists he gradually became convinced that they were right.

At 26 he was already a Social-Democrat.† Bebel's fame grew so rapidly that a year later (1867) he was elected chairman of the Trade Union Committee and the first workers' deputy in Parliament.

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† Readers will remember that the words 'Social-Democrat' and 'Social-Democracy' in those years meant 'Revolutionary Marxist', and had nothing in common with the idea of 'co-operation between all classes', to which the right wing leaders of the British Labour Party and their colleagues in other countries have corrupted and degraded the term 'Social-Democracy'.—Editor, *Labour Monthly*.



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Thus Bebel, fighting and conquering, overcoming step by step the obstacles surrounding him, came forward at last out of the rank and file of the workers and became a leader of the struggling workers of Germany.

From this time onwards, Bebel openly fought for Social-Democracy. His immediate aim was war with the Liberals, the liberation of the workers from their influences, the uniting of the workers in their own Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Bebel achieved his object the following year (1868) at the Nuremberg Congress. Bebel's skilful and merciless attack at that Congress led to the Liberals suffering complete defeat, and on the ruins of Liberalism, German Social-Democracy was born.

The emancipation of the workers can be the result only of the efforts of the workers themselves, said Bebel at the Congress. Therefore the workers must break with the bourgeois Liberals and unite in their own workers' party—and the vast majority of the Congress, in spite of the handful of Liberals, repeated with him the great words of Karl Marx.

For the complete emancipation of the workers, it is necessary that the workers of all countries should unite, said Bebel. Therefore it is necessary to join the International Workingmen's Association—and the majority of the Congress with one accord repeated after him the words of the great teacher. In this way was born the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany. Bebel was its midwife.

From that time onwards the life of Bebel fused with the life of the Party, his sorrows and joys with the sorrows and joys of the Party. Bebel himself became the favourite and the inspirer of the German workmen; for, comrades, it is impossible not to love the man who has done so much to put the workmen on their own feet, emancipate them from the guardianship of the bourgeois Liberals, and give them their own Workers' Party.

The year 1870 brought the young party its first test. The war with France was beginning and the German government demanded money for the war from Parliament, of which Bebel too was a member. He had to take his stand definitely for or against the war. Bebel understood, of course, that the war was of advantage only to the enemies of the proletariat, yet all sections of German society, from the bourgeoisie to the workers, were seized with a false patriotic fervour and called refusing money to the government 'betrayal of the Fatherland'. But Bebel, taking no account of patriotic prejudice, unafraid to swim against the stream, loudly proclaimed from the parliamentary tribune: 'As a Socialist and a Republican I am not for war, I am for the brotherhood of the people. I am not for hostility to the French workmen, but for unity between them and the German workmen'. Reproaches, ridicule, contempt—such was the



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reply even on the workers' part to Bebel's bold speech. But Bebel, true to the principles of scientific Socialism, did not for a moment haul down the flag to the level of the prejudices of his fellow workmen. On the contrary, he tried in every way to raise them to a clear understanding of the harmfulness of the war. Later the workers understood their mistake, and their firm and strong-minded Bebel became even dearer to them. But the Government rewarded him with two years in gaol, where, however, he did not waste his time, and wrote the famous book, ' Woman and Socialism'.

The end of the seventies and the eighties brought the Party new trials. Alarmed at the growth of Social-Democracy, the German Government issued its ' Anti-Socialist Exceptional Laws '. It broke up the Party and Trade Union organisations, it closed down every Social-Democratic newspaper, it abolished freedom of meeting and association; what only yesterday was a legal Social-Democratic Party was thrown back into an underground existence. By all these means the Government wished to provoke Social-Democracy into unsuccessful harmful acts and thus demoralise and destroy it. Particular steadfastness and unexampled sagacity were needed in order not to lose their heads, change their tactics in time, wisely adapt themselves to new conditions. Many Social-Democrats gave way to provocation and fell into anarchism. Others abandoned all their principles and sank down to Liberalism. But Bebel stood unfalteringly at his post, encouraged some, restrained the unwise ardour of others, exposed the phrase-mongering of others again, skilfully directed the Party along the sure road, ever forward and only forward. Ten years later the Government was obliged to give way to the growing strength of the Labour movement and repealed the ' Exceptional Laws '. Bebel's policy proved the only correct one.

The end of the nineties and the nineteen-hundreds brought the Party yet one more test. Encouraged by the industrial boom and the comparative ease of their economic victory, the moderate elements in Social-Democracy began to deny the necessity of irreconcilable class struggle and the socialist revolution. It isn't necessary to be irreconcilable; it isn't necessary to have a revolution, they said: what we need is collaboration of classes, we need agreements with the bourgeoisie and the Government, in order, together with them, to repair the existing system. Therefore, let's vote for the budget of the bourgeois Government, let's take part in the existing bourgeois Government, they said. Thereby the moderates were undermining the foundations of scientific Socialism, the revolutionary tactics of Social-Democracy. Bebel realised all the dangers of the situation, and together with the other Party leaders, declared relentless war against the moderates. At the Dresden Congress (1903) he utterly routed the leaders of the German moderates, Bernstein and



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Vollmar, proclaiming the necessity of revolutionary methods of struggle. Next year at Amsterdam, before the Socialists of all countries, he defeated the international leader of the moderates, Jean Jaurès, once again proclaiming the necessity of irreconcilable struggle. From that time onwards he gave no rest to the 'moderate enemies of the Party', inflicted defeat after defeat on them at Jena (1905) and Nuremberg (1908). As a result the Party emerged from the internal struggle united and strong, amazingly strengthened, vastly expanded, and obliged for all of this principally to the same August Bebel.

But Bebel did not confine himself to activity only within the Party. His thunderous speeches in the German Parliament, lashing the reactionary nobility, tearing the mask off the Liberals, nailing the 'Imperial Government' to the pillory, his many years of activity in the Trade Unions—all these are examples of how Bebel as the loyal watchman of the proletariat appeared wherever the fight was thickest, wherever his stormy proletarian energy was needed. That is why the German and International Socialists respect Bebel so.

Of course Bebel had his mistakes—who doesn't have them (only the dead make no mistakes)? But all his petty mistakes pale in comparison with his great services to the Party which today, after 42 years of Bebel's leadership, counts over 600,000 members, has about two millions organised in Trade Unions, enjoys the confidence of three to four million electors and with one wave of the hand organises demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in Prussia.‡ And it is notable that the dates of the jubilee celebrations in honour of Bebel coincided with the dates on which the power of German Social-Democracy showed itself most vividly—the dates of the incomparably organised mighty demonstrations for universal suffrage in Prussia. Bebel has every right to say that he has not worked in vain.

Such are the life and activity of old Bebel—yes, very old, but young in soul, standing at his post as of old and awaiting new battles, new victories.

Only the fighting proletariat could give birth to such a life, ever young, ever forward-looking Bebel—one after its own image. Only the theory of scientific Socialism could give true scope to the stormy nature of Bebel, tirelessly striving for the overthrow of the old, rotten, capitalist world. Bebel by his life and activity bears witness

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‡ Bebel died before this massive organisation of the German working class was betrayed in August, 1914, by its opportunist leadership, who supported the Kaiser's Government in the first World War without even consulting their members.—Ed., *L.M.*



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to the strength and invincibility of the proletariat, to the inevitable triumph of socialism. . . .

Let us then send a greeting, comrades, to our dear teacher, the turner, August Bebel!

May he serve as an example for us Russian workers who badly need Bebels in the Labour movement!

*LONG LIVE BEBEL!*

*LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY!*

Published as a separate leaflet.
March 23rd, 1910.

Baku Committee of the Russian
Social-Democratic Workers' Party.

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## FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

### TRIBUTARY TO AMERICA

AT the head of the series of the capitalist states stands the United States. The colonial peoples are tributary to the capitalist nations; the defeated states are tributary to the victor states; but all alike, victor states, defeated states, and colonial peoples, are tributary to America. The supreme contradiction of capitalism today is expressed in the relation of America and the rest of the capitalist world. . . . The impoverishment of Europe has been accompanied by the enrichment of America.

'To him that hath shall be given.' In accordance with this fundamental principle of capitalism, all the world, which is impoverished, must pay tribute to America, which has more wealth than it knows what to do with. The rest of the world is indebted to America; and the more America calls forth goods, the more the rest of the world becomes indebted. Europe, which has an adverse trade balance of four hundred million pounds, must pay tribute to America, which has a favourable trade balance of two hundred million pounds. It cannot be done. The old familiar process of capitalism, by which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer, is taking place on an international scale.

NOTES OF THE MONTH, March, 1925.



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# THE SACRED TRUST

ANGELA TUCKETT

WHEN on June 26, 1945, His Britannic Majesty's Government signed the Charter of the United Nations a series of solemn commitments were undertaken. Among these was Article 73 of Chapter XI relating to 'responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government', whereby the signatories declared that 'the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount', and accepted 'as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost . . . the well-being of the inhabitants'. To that end they promised:

(a) To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

(b) To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

(c) To further international peace and security;

(d) To promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialised international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

(e) To transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Ten weeks ago Britain refused to give the information asked for in a series of ten resolutions passed by a huge majority at the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations. Not only did the British Minister of State go against these resolutions, but at the beginning of December he made a speech to the Assembly declaring that Britain would refuse to carry out these decisions of the United Nations. Put bluntly, Britain has dishonoured her signature affixed to the Charter of the United Nations only four and a half years ago.

This is how the voting on these Ten Resolutions went:

| | *For* | *Against* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Resolution ... ... | 33 | 9 | 11 |
| 2nd ,, ... ... | 44 | 1 | 7 |
| 3rd ,, ... ... | 34 | 4 | 13 |
| 4th ,, ... ... | 42 | 0 | 10 |



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| | | For | Against | Abstention |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Resolution | ... ... | 39 | 2 | 8 |
| 6th „ | ... ... | 44 | 5 | 4 |
| 7th „ | ... ... | 35 | 5 | 9 |
| 8th „ | ... ... | 30 | 12 | 10 |
| 9th „ | ... ... | 31 | 4 | 16 |
| 10th „ | ... ... | 46 | 1 | 5 |

Anyone used to trade union negotiation will note that of the obligations backing up the sacred trust the only definite cut-and-dried one is ' to transmit regularly information '. What then is the difficulty about ' transmitting information '—noting that ' security and constitutional considerations ' provided a justifiable escape clause? Since those summer days of 1945 have ' our ' non-self-governing territories become one vast camp where military or security considerations are paramount?

Let us look briefly at these Ten Resolutions. Here is No. 2 in full: *

*The General Assembly*—1. *Invites* the Administering Members to take steps, where necessary, to establish equal treatment in matters related to education between inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, whether they be indigenous or not;

2. *Invites* the Administering Members, in cases where for exceptional reasons educational facilities of a separate character are provided for different communities, to include in the information transmitted under Article 73e of the charter full data on the costs and methods of financing the separate groups of educational institutions.

The British Government found it impossible to support this resolution on Education.

Now turn to Resolution 3, which begins as follows:

*The General Assembly—Recognising* the importance of preserving and developing the language in the indigenous peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and

*Noting* the appreciable steps already taken in this connexion by the Administering Members,

1. *Invites* the Administering Members (a) To promote the use of the indigenous languages in the Territories under their administration; (b) To make these languages where and whenever possible the languages of instruction in elementary, primary and secondary schools, without prejudice to the use of any other language; (c) To include in their reports to the Secretary-General information on the scope and results of such steps.

It also asked the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.S.C.O.) and the Governments concerned to co-operate. The British Government did not find it possible to vote for this resolution.

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* I do not give them all in full (mainly for space reasons but also because the preamble and technical reference repeated in each resolution would make tedious reading), nor in the original order.



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Then, Resolution 4 on the 'eradication of illiteracy' invites U.N.E.S.C.O. to communicate to Administering Members full information of measures for suppressing illiteracy and to report annually how far their services have been utilised, and recommends the Members to collaborate with U.N.E.S.C.O. Britain did not support this Resolution.

Observe the next two resolutions. Resolution 6 establishes a special Committee on Information—on which the eight Administering Members who have submitted information are represented—to continue through 1950, 1951 and 1952 to report to the General Assembly on the information transmitted.

This is followed by Resolution 7 which:

1. *Invites* the Special Committee at its 1950 session, without prejudice to the consideration of the other two functional fields, to give special attention to the problems of education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, with particular attention to development of training in the economic and social fields;

2. *Invites* members of the Special Committee to make special preparations in this field for the 1950 session, with a view to facilitating the constructive interchange of ideas and experience on such educational problems.

Even these resolutions were too much for the British delegation to support.

Resolution 5 might well be quoted a little more fully. The General Assembly, it says:

*Having noted* aspects of the programmes of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialised agencies which include within their scope economic, social and educational conditions affecting Non-Self-Governing Territories,

1. *Emphasises* the importance of promoting the technical training of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and requests the Administering Members to co-operate when and where appropriate with specialised international bodies with a view to examining the possibility of providing adequate training facilities for these inhabitants in the fields of economic development, agriculture, education, labour, public health and social welfare;

2. *Requests* the appropriate international bodies to take full account of conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in work undertaken by them in connexion with economic development, the world census of agriculture, the study of soil erosion, the training of public health personnel, the study of problems of nutrition, the application of International Labour Conventions, the problem of migrant labour in Africa, the development of social welfare services, the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the study of the most appropriate means of improving housing in tropical regions, and the problems of higher education;

3. *Invites* the specialised agencies concerned to communicate annually to the United Nations information on the progress of the work indicated in the previous paragraph which would be of service in Non-Self-Governing Territories, including information on the extent to which their services have been provided for any of the Non-Self-Governing Territories;



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# CARTOONS FROM ABROAD

*From 'Die Weltwoche', of Zurich*

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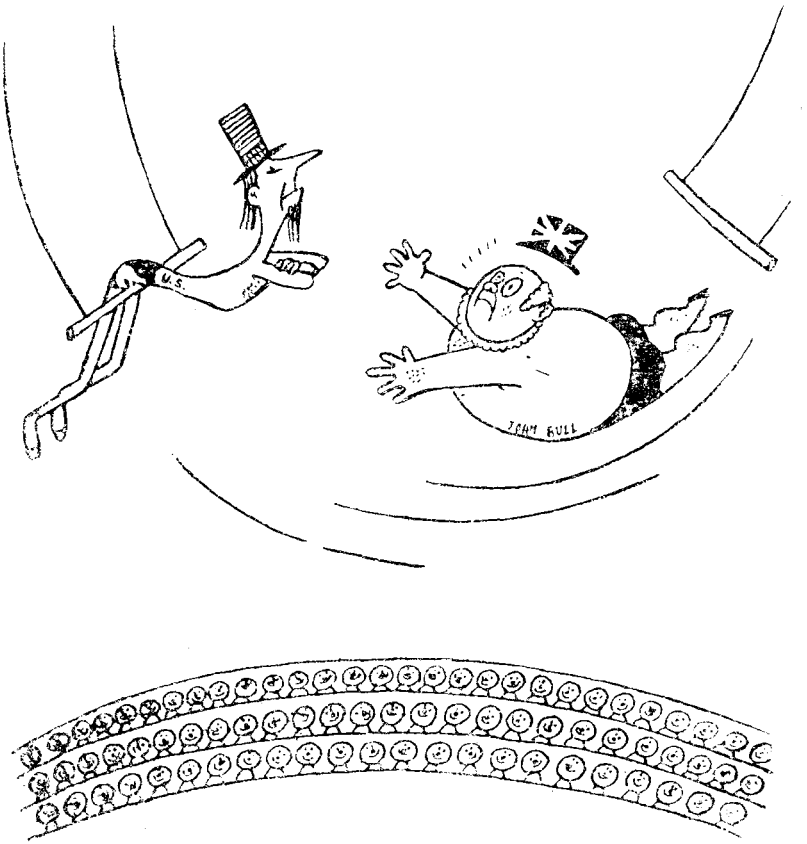


*From ' Ludas Matyi ', of Budapest*



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4. *Invites* the specialised agencies to take account in their studies of the experience of various States in respect of the problems enumerated above;

5. *Invites* the Secretary-General to bring to the attention of the Administering Members and the specialised agencies concerned the comments made during the discussions in the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter in relation to agriculture, education, labour, public health and social welfare;

6. *Invites* the Secretary-General to collaborate with the specialised agencies in any necessary studies, taking as a basis the information transmitted under Article 73e, together with any relevant supplemental information and any relevant studies undertaken by the Economic and Social Council and by the Trusteeship Council with regard to Trust Territories;

7. *Further invites* the Secretary-General, in his analyses of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories to be submitted to the General Assembly, to select such aspects of economic, social and educational problems as appropriately provide opportunities for possible co-operation with the specialised international bodies, as provided in Article 73d of the Charter, with a view to the improvement of economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Only two Powers could be found to vote against this resolution.

Resolution 9 merely invites the Secretary-General to put out periodical publications ' on special aspects of the progress achieved ' in the territories; and Resolution 10 invites him to keep the Special Committee on Information informed of the nature of technical assistance which is accorded from time to time to Non-Self-Governing Territories by specialised agencies such as the World Health Organisation, U.N.E.S.C.O., etc. This last was carried by 46 votes to one, with five abstentions. Britain did not support either of these two Resolutions.

In Resolution No. 1 the General Assembly ' expresses the hope that such of the members as have not done so may voluntarily include details on the government of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the information transmitted by them ' and recommends that in future ' general information on geography, history, people and human rights should cease to be classified under the optional category ' of the Standard Form for the collection of information. Not even this Resolution gained the support of the British Government.

Before coming to the last of these Resolutions, the reader may require an explanation of why it refers to the ' cessation ' in certain cases of the ' information ' promised in 1945 and why it lays down that the United Nations alone in General Assembly, can decide whether the British or other Governments can stop sending information. A long struggle inside U.N.O. (no more reported in the British press than were any of these Ten Resolutions. ' Free ' British press!) lies behind this. From the beginning Britain and other European sacred trustees fought against giving such an account of their stewardship. India demanded awkward details about social conditions, child mortality, amount spent per head on education. So did the



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U.S.S.R. The more the others insisted (and the greater support they won for this) the more the British Government delegates behaved as though they had something to hide. The next pretext was to stop giving even limited information about some territories on the ground of 'constitutional changes'. Resolution 8 shows that the United Nations are having none of this. It reads that the General Assembly,

*Having noted* the information supplied by certain Members concerning the constitutional changes which have led to the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73e in respect of certain territories which were enumerated in resolution 66 (I),

1. *Considers* that it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which have guided or which may in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73e of the Charter;

2. *Invites* any special committee which the General Assembly may appoint on information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the British Government was against this resolution also. The whole business of these Ten Resolutions is not only a disgraceful episode (and latest exhibition to the colonial peoples of 'the British way of life') but is the culmination of a policy towards U.N.O. which contrasts with public professions at home. In plain words, the Government have pretended to the British people that they are the truest supporters of U.N.O. while in fact they refuse to carry out its decisions.

But the nature of the U.N.O. decisions which they refuse to carry out reveals the reason for this crude deceit at home. If these resolutions were carried out in letter and in spirit, it would show up Bevin, Morrison, Attlee and the lesser Creeches and Hectors as supporters of that imperialism which in their speeches they sedulously disclaim.



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# REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

V. F. KOTOK, LL.M.

*(The following is an abridgment of a valuable survey published in "The Soviet State and Law", organ of the Institute of Law of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.*—Ed. L.M.)

STALIN warned the capitalists of all countries, in his speech at the Party Congress in 1934, that if there were another attack on the U.S.S.R. some of the governments dear to them would be missing on the day after the war ended. His words were justified: a number of bourgeois régimes disappeared in Central and South-Eastern Europe, and People's Democracies were established in their place.

The people's democratic revolution in all these countries was of a Socialist character. The State which it established ensures the political supremacy of the working people—the vast majority of the population. It has taken over, as the property of the people, the main wealth of the country. It has proclaimed as its objective the building of a Socialist society. In its class essence, therefore, it is a similar type of State to that existing in the Soviet Union—a State of the dictatorship of the working class.

The essence of the People's Republics is their crushing of the resistance of the exploiting classes, their drawing of the mass of the people into the building of Socialism, and their organisation of that constructive work with the help of an entirely new machinery of State, close to the people. But their essence also shows itself in the form which the State machinery takes. That form is representation of the working people, instead of representation of the exploiters. Through the People's National Assembly in the capital, and the People's (or National) Councils or Committees in the localities, the People's Republic has in effect taken over the characteristic features of the Paris Commune.

The representative system of the People's Democracy follows from its class essence. The people, controlling the whole of State power, establishes a unitary form of that power. It rejects the bourgeois principle of 'division of powers', because it recognises no compromise on the question of giving effect to its political power. But this unity does not of course exclude various forms in which it finds expression. In these forms, by the way, the People's Republics are making full use of the experience of the Soviet State.

The representative institutions constitute the real backbone of



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the People's Republics. It is these institutions which create and supervise all the other organs of State. The Constitutions of Czechoslovakia, Albania and the other People's Democracies underline the importance of these representative bodies. The Albanian Constitution (Article II) calls them ' the greatest achievement of the main masses of the Albanian people '. The Czechoslovak Constitution declares that the Czechoslovak people want a State ' in which the people not only issues laws through its representatives, but through its representatives also itself gives them effect '.

The conditions which gave the people the opportunity to elect its true representatives to these institutions were brought into being by its victorious struggle against the reactionary régimes of the capitalists and landlords. That struggle was carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party. It led to the nationalisation of large and medium industry and the confiscation of the great estates. This broke the economic power of the capitalists and landlords, and thereby deprived them of the means of exercising pressure on the people during election campaigns. Moreover the victory won by the unity of the working masses led to their organisation in a People's Front, united and directed by the working class and the Communist Party.

In these conditions, free elections in the States of People's Democracy ensure that the working mass of the people secures the overwhelming majority of places in the representative bodies. Exploiting elements retain the franchise, but are isolated in the elections and cannot obtain any substantial number of seats. The only exceptions to the universal franchise (in some countries) are the open enemies of the People's Democracy. Thus, the Polish election regulations (22nd September, 1946) disfranchise persons who collaborated with the German occupying forces. The Hungarian Constitution lays down ' The law disfranchises enemies of the working people and the insane '.

Representative institutions in the People's Democracies have a number of features distinguishing them to their advantage from the representative bodies of capitalist States.

1. Both in the centre and in the localities the representative bodies are the organs of State power. Their mutual relations are based on unity of interests and full co-operation: because both represent the working people. At all stages both higher and local representative bodies give effect to *all* the functions of the People's Democratic State. Thus, in Czechoslovakia, the local National Committees supervise national defence, take part in the working out and fulfilment of the State economic plan, protect and increase the national wealth, etc. The higher bodies, in their turn, encourage and support the initiative of the local bodies in economic, defence and



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cultural affairs. Thus the contradictions between central and local government, so characteristic of the capitalist State, disappear. Parliament is not the only 'representation of the nation' as it is in the capitalist State, which confines the local authorities to auxiliary and secondary functions.

2. The representative institutions of the People's Democracies ensure the direct and decisive participation of the masses of the people in the practical work of government, and particularly in supervising the machinery of State. The People's Councils (Committees) in particular have shown by experience their immense value for enlisting the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses of the people.

In Czechoslovakia, for example, they made it possible to carry out and overfulfil the Two Year Plan by developing a mass campaign for workers' 'counter-plans' and for a present of 75 million working hours to the Republic. It was the masses of the people, working through the National Committees, which arrested the German-appointed directors of factories immediately after liberation, took over management, and thereby prepared the way for nationalisation. In February, 1948, the Congress of Works Councils laid down the programme of further nationalisation.

Another example can be taken from Bulgaria. Thus, in the town council of Staro-Zagora there are 40 deputies (10 of them women) who have divided themselves into 13 departmental committees. A hundred and four ordinary citizens (peasants, doctors, engineers and others) have volunteered for service in these committees, and work together with the councillors, helping the local authority to perform its functions successfully.

People's Democracy has smashed the prejudice of capitalist society to the effect that the common people cannot manage the State. On the contrary, they do so more and more actively and effectively.

3. In the People's Democracies parliamentarism, as a special system for dividing legislation and executive activities, has disappeared. The deputies themselves, as a rule, go on working after their election in national economy, in culture, and defence. It is where they live and work that they put into effect, or supervise the operation of, the decisions they have taken. Hence the representative bodies of the People's Democracies cannot be constantly in session, and the deputies do not become professional parliamentarians, detached from the people and from the practical work of the State, as in the capitalist countries. The deputies in the People's Democracies assemble periodically for sessions, but between the sessions take part in practical public work.

4. In all the States of People's Democracy there are single-chamber representative bodies. In these bodies the national minorities can be most effectively represented. A single chamber is adequate



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to reflect the wishes of a single working people which controls political power. In this respect the representative bodies of People's Democracy differ from those of capitalist countries, where the upper chambers, unrepresentative or less representative, act as a barrier in defence of the interests of the capitalist class.

5. All the constitutions of the People's Democracies provide for the recall of deputies by their electors, if the latter feel that their confidence has not been justified. The deputy in a People's Republic is the servant of the people and must do its will. In the capitalist State the deputy, on the contrary, is treated as 'independent' of his electors, on the plea that he represents the whole nation.

6. The representative system in the People's Democracies is based on the principle of the equality of nations. It provides adult suffrage irrespective of nationality and race, and abolishes all national privileges or restrictions. As a result, national minorities find full representation. There are three Greeks among the 82 members of the Albanian National Assembly (the Greek population is 2.4 per cent. of the total). In Rumania there are 30 Hungarian deputies in the Grand National Assembly. In Bulgaria there are representatives of the Turkish and Macedonian population in the Assembly. Moreover, where the national minorities represent a substantial compact mass, their equality is expressed also in the formation of national organs of state.

7. The representative system makes it possible for the working people to supply the vast majority of the deputies to the representative bodies. Thus, in the Grand National Assembly of Bulgaria elected in 1946, there were 73 workmen, 90 peasants, 84 engineers, writers and lawyers, 15 co-operators. Most of them played an active part in the resistance movement. Fascist Courts had sentenced 54 of them to death, 17 to life imprisonment, 23 to 15 years' imprisonment, and 107 to lesser terms in gaol.

8. The full authority of the representative bodies of People's Democracy is not limited or restricted by anti-democratic institutions, standing above the direct representatives of the people—such as a Supreme Court.

These features mark off the People's Democracies from the bourgeois States, showing the genuine democratic character of a country moving to Socialism. But they are countries only in the *first* phase of Socialism. They have not yet reached the full moral and political unity which the Soviet Union had achieved by the time its Stalin Constitution was adopted in 1936. In the People's Democracies there are still exploiting classes offering stubborn resistance. As Socialist construction advances, by the effort of the united forces of the working class and the peasantry in a single People's Front, the class struggle becomes ever sharper, owing to that resistance.



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Hence certain specific features remain in the representative institutions in the countries of People's Democracy.

1. Some of their Constitutions provide for dissolution of the representative bodies before their term expires. Thus the Bulgarian and Hungarian Constitutions provide for dissolution by decision of Parliament itself. In the Czechoslovak Constitution the President retains the right of dissolving the National Assembly. In capitalist democracy such presidential powers have more than once shown themselves to be anti-democratic, as a means of getting rid of representative bodies in which genuine spokesmen of the people were using Parliament to fight against the exploitation of the masses. In the People's Democracies—thanks to the new economic and social conditions created—the constitutional powers of the President have become a supplementary guarantee for the rule of the people. They have been successfully used in combating reactionary elements who tried to use their mandates as deputies to damage the interests of the people. This happened in 1947 in Hungary, when a conspiracy against the Republic was discovered, organised by members of parliament. They had secured election in a different balance of class forces in 1945, but were now exposed as traitors.

2. Another characteristic feature of the representative systems in some countries of People's Democracy is the taking of an oath of loyalty to the people's democratic order as a necessary condition for the deputy's mandate being validated. Even where there does not exist such an oath, as in Hungary, there is provision in the Constitution that ' political and economic or any other activity and conduct conflicting with the interests of the working people are incompatible with a mandate as deputy of the State Assembly '. In Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland, in 1947, in Czechoslovakia in 1948, deputies have been deprived of their seats for such activity hostile to People's Democracy.

3. Certain particular features have been retained in the procedure for voting the laws. Thus in some countries of People's Democracy, voting by roll call on the most important laws is practised—so that the people should know and be able to remember all those who voted against its interests.

Furthermore, secret voting has been retained in some countries to protect rank and file Opposition deputies against their own leaders. Thus, in Bulgaria, the reactionary Petkoff secured from all the deputies of his Opposition group a signed statement, addressed to the President of the Chamber, concerning the resignation of the deputy concerned. Petkoff was able to use this at any moment, should any of the Opposition deputies break away from his allegiance. Secret ballot protected those deputies who might begin to modify their opinions.



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4. While the local representative bodies, as mentioned earlier, have full State authority in their own territory, far wider than that of local government machinery in the capitalist countries, the forces of reaction which still exist have tried from time to time to get hold of local bodies as a point of vantage from which to continue undermining the building of Socialism. Hence in the Hungarian, Czechoslovak and other Constitutions the higher representative bodies retain the right of setting aside decisions of the lower bodies, and if necessary of dissolving them and ordering fresh elections.

5. In principle, as noted, the deputy in a People's Democracy remains most of his time among the mass of the people. But particular conditions in various countries have made it essential to provide that, where deputies have been working for hire hitherto, they are entitled to leave of absence for the term for which they were elected, and to receive public compensation for the time of their absence from work.

This is partly due to the fact that in some countries the crucial sessions of the higher representative bodies have lasted for a considerable time, e.g. the Grand National Assembly of Bulgaria, which sat from October 27, 1946, to December 4, 1947. Primarily, however, it is due to the fact that there still exists in these countries private property in the means and implements of production. Many deputies before their election have worked for capitalist employers. Guaranteeing them leave of absence, and providing them with a public salary on election, have freed them from dependence on their employers.

These particular features of the representative bodies in the People's Democracies reflect, as was pointed out, the particular circumstances of the class struggle in the various countries. In conditions of class society and exploitation of man by man—greatly restricted already but still existing—various parties representing the interests of different classes continue to exist. The representative system outlined represents a far higher degree of true democracy than in the capitalist countries. Its particular features arise from the necessity of isolating the exploiting elements and protecting the interests of the working people. But the system has not yet reached the fullest development of representative government—that of the Socialist State in its higher stage. That higher stage will arise when Socialism is fully triumphant, when exploiting classes no longer exist, when exploitation of man by man has disappeared, when society is morally and politically united, and consequently when multiplicity of parties has also died out.



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# THE POPE AND ENGLISH POLITICS

REV. STANLEY EVANS

THE recent decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office—the body that was at one time internationally notorious under the name of the Inquisition—should serve to remind us that few political traditions in this country have a longer history than that of resentment of Vatican influence in our politics.

A letter of William the Conqueror is extant, the date of which is uncertain but which is probably 1076, addressed to Pope Gregory VII, refusing fealty to the Pope. From that date until the Reformation there was a strenuous refusal to accept the political jurisdiction of Rome, and the economic demands which went with it, broken only by the abject surrender of the Kingdom to the Pope by King John in 1213. This submission did not last and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a mounting opposition to the papal claims, and by the end of the century it had become possible for Wyclif to preach that the Pope, like all lords, lost any powers he had by deadly sin.

The resistance in some districts to the general course of the Reformation had far more to do with the suppression of monasteries and the changes in services than with any liking for the Pope. It was part of popular opposition to the new bourgeoisie. The subsequent revolts of this period, such as that of Kett in 1549, were largely economic. The only exception was that of the Northern Earls in 1569 which had no popular support.

Out of the Reformation the Church of England that we know emerged. It was not only a body prepared to support the Crown against Rome, it was also a body prepared to support the ruling class against the people as to this day the thirty-eighth of its famous Thirty-Nine Articles makes clear:

> The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

It would exhort to charity but it would not challenge the fundamental property relations of the new state that finally emerged from the civil war, the restoration and the 'glorious revolution'. The period beginning with Henry's divorce and ending in 1688 is vital for the history of the Church in this country. The *Ecclesia*



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*Anglicana* that survived it was in some sense the old one, but shorn of much of its possessions, its doctrine amended and its clergy perhaps less popular than ever before; it had proved to all the world that it knew how to trim and that the 'Vicar of Bray' was not an isolated or extreme case. Beyond all else it had changed one master who had grown unpopular, the Pope, for another, the new English state, and, as the episode of the non-juring Bishops proved, its allegiance to the crown was going to be directed to whatever monarch the bourgeoisie saw fit to appoint.

The allegiance of the people to this Church had been sadly shaken. The Independents, the Anabaptists and a vast profusion of other sects with democratic notions had sown their seed with fervour and, however much the squire-parson combination tried to choke it, it could never hereafter be suppressed.

On the other side there still stood the Church of Rome. It had Spain behind it. It had much of France behind it. Nearer home it had the support of Mary Stuart and of important leaders in both Scotland and Ireland. It was the religion of the Queen's enemies as it was also the religion of the merchant's enemies, although the Protestant Netherlands were soon to succeed it in the latter case.

There can be little doubt that there were those among the English adherents of the Pope who wanted nothing more than the old services. In the main, however, they constituted a group who were constantly advised by the Spanish Ambassador and were compelled to take most of their orders from abroad. A Papal Bull of 1558 had warned that heretical monarchs might be deposed. In 1569 such a Bull was directed against Elizabeth. The seminary priests who were now infiltrating the country from the newly formed Douai college could not separate themselves from this policy. Their Jesuit colleagues made no attempt to do so. So the mission of Campian and Parsons in 1580 could only be seen as a preparation for the Armada.

The fundamental policy of the realm therefore became that of treating Roman Catholics as traitors. The punishment for this offence was prescribed for those who offended against the Act of Supremacy. This was followed by a whole series of Acts. It was forbidden to publish papal statements or literature, to harbour priests, to attend Roman services, to persuade to the Roman obedience either within the realm, on the high seas, or abroad. No Roman Catholic might live within 10 miles of London, move more than five miles from his residence without permission, occupy any office of state, or sit in either House of Parliament. The punishments prescribed varied from fines* to execution.

* James I admitted to an income of £36,000 a year from this source.



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The severity with which these Acts were enforced varied from one period to another. It was not until 1778 that any legal relief was given at all and the Acts of that year and 1792 gave it in small measure. A serious Relief Act was passed only in 1829.

By then the situation had changed. The bourgeoisie had ceased to be a revolutionary force and was on the defensive against the people. So old enemies united and the movement led by Pusey and Newman in Oxford was able to change the opinions of many about Rome. This was the beginning of the period of the modern working-class movement and the Oxford theologians were consciously reacting against 'liberalism' and 'revolution'. Keble's famous Assize Sermon of 1833 on National Apostasy deplored State interference in the Church on the one hand and State indifference to the religion of its servants on the other. Nevertheless at the end he felt bound to say:

> We have ill learned the lessons of our Church if we permit our patriotism to decay, together with the protecting care of the State. 'The powers that be are ordained of God'; whether they foster the true Church or no. Submission and order are still duties.

This was not only the true following of the Bishops who had been terrified by the French Revolution and more recently voted to a man against Parliamentary Reform—it was also a true anticipation of the line the Roman Pontiff was to take from that day to this. The Oxford Movement was one of the twin causes of the Roman Catholic revival in England. The other was a large-scale Irish immigration between 1845-1847. The two causes combined to lead to the 'restoration' of the hierarchy in 1850. The new hierarchy—the first Archbishop of Westminster, Wiseman, was succeeded by Manning in 1865—was closely linked with Rome and about the policy of Rome there is no doubt. The resemblance indeed between the policy of the Oxford Movement enunciated by Keble and of Pope Pius IX is most striking.

It was of Pius IX that Marx and Engels had written in 1848 in the Communist Manifesto:

> All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

The reference to the Pope seems to be to his first Encyclical letter of November 9, 1846, which warned the faithful against 'a most bitter and fearful warfare waged against everything that is Catholic by those who endeavour to rake up every monstrous opinion, to exaggerate and magnify each to their utmost power, and to diffuse and disseminate the same among the common people'.

The list included 'secret Societies', 'those most crafty Bible



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Societies which, reviving an old device of the Heretics, do not cease to put forth an immense number of copies of the books of the Sacred Scriptures printed in various vulgar tongues', above all (the only one printed in italics) 'that abominable doctrine, so diametrically opposed to the law of nature itself, which they denominate *Communism*, which, once admitted and recognised, would overthrow every species of law, and right, and property, and destroy the very foundations of human society'.

The 'battle', said Pope Pius, must be 'fought sharply' and he offered an alliance to all the monarchs in Europe in these words:

> We trust that the Princes, our dearest sons in Christ, remembering in their piety and religion, that the kingly authority was given to them not only for the government of the world, but more especially for the protection of the Church, and that we, whilst we maintain the cause of the Church, maintain that also of their kingdom and of their safety, that, so they may hold their provinces in undisturbed possession, will aid our common wishes and endeavours with their power and authority, and defend the liberty and safety of the Church that the right hand of Christ may defend their kingdom.

Having written this Pius himself plunged into the battle. He fought the people who inhabited the papal states.† He opposed the unification of Italy. He fought France and Germany. He fought the Bishops and, by the Vatican Council, reduced them to ciphers. The policy of his 1846 Encyclical was continued in the Syllabus of Errors of 1864, which was the prelude to the Council. It listed as 'pests' under one heading: 'Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Biblical Societies, Clerical-Liberal Societies'. The same line has been followed from that day to this. The Encyclical *Inscrutabili* of Leo XIII of 1878 attacked 'liberalism', contempt of the Church's authority, and the confiscation of church property and demanded the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope 'that he might without let or hindrance use the authority conferred by Christ for the eternal welfare of the nations'.

In the same year *Quod Apostolici Muneris* attacked 'that sect of men who, under the motley and barbarous term and titles of Socialists, Communists and Nihilists, are spread abroad throughout the world'. The real meaning of this was made clear in another passage which said:

> . . . the Church recognises the existence of inequality amongst men who are by nature unlike in mental endowment and strength of body, and even in

† Their reply came when a referendum was finally compiled and only 1,507 voted for remaining under the Pope as against 133,681 who wanted to join the Kingdom of Italy. In Rome itself only 46 wanted the Pope while 40,835 were against him.



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amount of fortune, *and she enjoins that the right of property and of its disposal, derived from nature, should in the case of every individual, remain intact and inviolate.*

Could anything be more clear? And yet as encyclical followed encyclical the Labour movement in all countries was growing. And encyclical had to follow encyclical because, despite them all, Catholics were flocking into the Labour movement.

In 1885 *Immortale Dei* insisted that the State is bound to the public profession of religion (it means only one religion) and attacked 'modern judicial theories' which are at variance 'with not only the Christian, but even with natural law'.

> Among these principles the main one lays down that as all men are alike by race and nature, so in like manner all are equal in the control of their life . . . that each is free to think on every subject just as he may choose . . . in a society grounded upon such maxims, all government is nothing more or less than the will of the people . . . a State becomes nothing but a multitude which is its own ruler.

This same 'error' was referred to again in 1888 in *Libertas Præstantissimum* which condemned the idea that 'the collective reason of the community must be the supreme guide in the management of public affairs, or that 'every man is free to profess as he may choose any religion or none'. It foresaw the danger that 'if unbridled licence of speech and writing be granted to all nothing will remain sacred or inviolate'.

The economic side of the matter was more clearly stated in the famous *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 which was explicitly reaffirmed by *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931. 'The main tenet of Socialism', it said, 'community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it only injures those whom it would seem most to benefit, is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonweal'. Inequalities were inevitable and 'to suffer and to endure' the lot of humanity. 'No strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles that beset it'. It condemned 'undue State interference' in economic matters, denounced class war and propounded the theory that 'Capital cannot do without labour, nor labour without capital' and made suggestions as to how they might work together. In *Quadragesimo Anno* these suggestions were carried much further towards the idea of the corporate State.

The same approach was shown in encyclicals in 1901, 1903, 1914 (when *Ad Beatissimi* showed the fear that international war might change into class war), 1920, 1922, 1931, 1937 and successively since then. The recent 'excommunication' is simply one of this



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series. As it is not the first it will not be the last because the causes which produced it will continue to operate.

More and more it is the Pope in Rome who is leading the religious anti-Communist forces in England. The movement for Church reunion continually swings in this direction. As it becomes more anti-Communist so it becomes more friendly to the Vatican. It is not therefore surprising that the Statement of the Holy Office in July was immediately followed by a violent attack on Communism in the Methodist Conference, a statement on 'religious persecution' by the World Council of Churches, and a repudiation by the Archbishop of Canterbury of the idea of a classless society.

All this, however, is but one side of the picture. The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches was also compelled to attack 'discrimination and repression exercised by dominant religious majorities against minorities' and the *locus classicus* for this is Franco's Spain. The Baptist Congress in Swansea resolutely refused to join 'The Holy War initiated by the Roman Catholic Church against Communism'. The Dean of Canterbury went to Moscow to declare: 'I cannot believe that my country will fight against those who won the victory over Fascism at Stalingrad'. Despite papal threats 1,700 Czechoslovak priests have remained loyal to their Catholic Action Committee. The Evangelical Clergy of Hungary have condemned 'the political activity of the Vatican as being against the interests of the working people and serving the war-mongering interests of the imperialists'. Whatever certain Church leaders may say or do they have a great battle to fight with their own rank and file.

As in 1846 the Pope still condemns not only Communism but also 'those who spread the Bible in the vulgar tongue'. The difference a century has brought is that then those who wanted the people to have the Bible made no concessions to the Vatican. Today many of them so fear the power of the people that there is no sacrifice they will not make for this most fundamental of all 'principles'.

Pope and Protestant, Washington and Whitehall, emigré Archduke and established Archbishop, have entered into an unholy alliance to exorcise the old spectre—the power of the people. But despite their alliance the power will grow and Catholic workers will help it grow.



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# TRADE UNIONISM IN RUMANIA

GLYN EVANS

THE Gentlemen of the Yellow International of Trade Unions, set up in London (without vote of their members) in December, 1949, as the sequel to their splitting of the World Federation of Trade Unions ten months earlier, have no voice except as ventriloquists' dummies. When the master-ventriloquists operate in Wall Street, then the American Federation of Labour gives tongue in London. They hurl abuse at the trade unions in the People's Democracies, saying ' there are no trade unions but only labour fronts '. Let us see.

Suppose that since the Labour Government was elected in 1945 the average worker's wage in Britain had risen by 30 per cent., and the actual purchasing power by far more. Picture new canteens built providing for more than half a million workers. What if the membership of the unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress had increased during these five years, not to twice or three times the number, but seventeen-fold? But these are the facts in Rumania, by no means one of the most favourably placed of the People's Democracies. Presumably such a rate of advance can only hold for a country where the previous level of trade union organisation was very low? True; and how all the more staggering is the rate of progress!

In Rumania trade unions were barred for long periods by a ruling class of the bourgeoisie and landlords, a corrupt dictatorship, brutal and savage in its treatment of the people. This parasitical class, battening on the most appalling poverty of the masses, had made Rumania into an Augean stable of iniquity, and rapidly transformed it into a colony of Western imperialism. The struggle of the underground trade unions against the ruling class was a never-ending bitter fight. In 1929, the hundreds of strikers in the Jiu Valley coalfield were massacred by the police. Again in 1933, when the railway workers struck, brutal measures were taken by the police: the leaders were imprisoned, and, some of them, made away with; others were only released after the liberation, eleven years later.

The smashing blows of the Soviet Armies and the driving out of the German fascist armies from Rumania, gave the Communist Party the opportunity to rally inside the country the progressive forces which overthrew the Antonescu dictatorship. The way was open for the release of the people from their bondage. August 23, 1944, the day of liberation, can never be forgotten by the working people of Rumania. At once the trade unions came to life—and



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moved into action. On September 1, 1944, the General Confederation of Labour held its first conference. This conference re-established the unity of the workers. Almost overnight the trade unions became a powerful force in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The conference was faced with tremendous tasks. Whole industries, not a factory here and there, were devastated by war. It was in the trade union movement that the men and women came forward to take the lead in their reconstruction. A bitter struggle took place against those who tried to sabotage production and resist the demands of the working class for better conditions of employment. Wages were at an exceptionally low level and living conditions deplorable. The re-organisation of the trade unions began. Each year recorded spectacular increases in membership, until at the beginning of 1950, the mass of the industrial and agricultural workers had become trade unionists.*

After three years' bitter struggle came the formation of the Republic in December, 1947, when the saboteurs in the industries —and in the Government itself—were swept away. At last it was possible to cleanse the filth from the Augean stable. After the elections of March, 1948, the decision was taken to nationalise the main industrial concerns.

In Rumania, nationalisation means more than the mere transfer of industry from private to public ownership; it has meant the transfer of the management of industry into the hands of the workers themselves. The Minister for Industry, Mr. C. Stoica, said in December, 1948, 'In 1949, another 20,000 workers qualified to administer industrial enterprises must be found. Many workers who minded machines on the floor before nationalisation are now managing a factory'.

Since the liberation a vast reservoir of energy and enthusiasm amongst the people had been mounting. Now the dam holding it back had burst; an overwhelming flood of initiative was released. In production the trade unions had an important say in the selection of management, including power of recall. The changed relationship between worker and management, of course, transformed the

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* The figures are as follows:

| Year | No. of Trade Unions | Membership |
|---|---|---|
| 1945 .. .. | 753 .. .. | 119,000 |
| 1946 .. .. | 854 .. .. | 683,170 |
| 1947 .. .. | 1,464 .. .. | 1,337,586 |
| 1948 .. .. | 1,455 .. .. | 1,526,077 |
| 1949 .. .. | 1,469 .. .. | 1,720,000 |
| 1950 (Jan.) .. | .. .. .. | 2,000,000 |



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attitude of the workers. The whole Government machinery concentrated on rebuilding the economy of the country and the trade unions played a most prominent part. Prices of essential commodities began falling. Wages were increased in all industries, agreements were reached on a national wage structure on socialist lines, whereby wage payments are divided into four classes, each sub-divided into eight grades designed to differentiate between skilled and unskilled workers, and between heavy and light work. These agreements also fostered and rewarded increased productivity. Increased productivity meant a general increase in piece rates. Moreover, equal pay for equal work for men and women operates; and, indeed, it is a provision of the Constitution of the Republic.

In August, 1948, the Plenary Session of the Confederation reviewed the progress of the trade unions. Stress was laid on the need to improve forms of organisation, so as to embrace all who worked in particular branches of production; to improve the work of trade union factory committees, and to set up commissions to control the application of collective agreements. The trades councils were to widen their scope and to include culture and sport. In place of a ' truck ' system which kept workers always in debt to employers, as in Britain a hundred years ago, mutual assistance funds were set up to help workers in case of need, while all old debts owing by workers to different enterprises were wiped out. A programme for labour protection was also adopted. The Confederation has its own daily paper and a network of local organs.

Factories and industrial establishments possess libraries and the wall newspaper is an important factor in developing trade union consciousness. In the old Rumania, many were illiterate. The trade unions have organised thousands of classes to teach their members to read and write and to acquire skill. 3,600 canteens which cater for about 600,000 workers have been built and the 450 crèches and kindergartens are figures which speak volumes for the care and attention paid by the trade unions to their members. Under the auspices of the trade union, 1,400 clubs, more than 12,000 libraries with a total of 3,750,000 books and more than 150,000 workers carry out artistic activities in more than 2,000 choirs and dance ensembles, with about 800 orchestras and bands. About 1,900 sports groups have been formed. Villages vie with each other in building their own sports grounds.

In January this year Mr. Georghe Apostol, the President of the General Confederation of Labour, at a plenary session (which coincided with the fifth anniversary of the first trades union congress after the liberation), dwelt upon the success of the workers in alliance with the peasantry, under the leadership of the Rumanian



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Workers' Party, in overfulfilling the 1949 State plan. The average wage in industry had increased by 30 per cent. while social security benefits were equivalent to another 20 per cent. on wages. Real wages, as a result, were 38 per cent. higher in October, 1949, than a year before. The trade unions had introduced free social and medical assistance (figures were given) at places of work and workers' rest homes and health resorts. The financial assistance given to workers at their places of work was 17.3 times greater than in 1937/8; 85,000 workers last year and more than 16,000 children spent their holidays at Rumanian health resorts at the expense of the trade unions apart from others who were sent by the Ministry of Health. For the first time agricultural workers from the machine and tractor stations and the State farms spent their holidays at beautiful seaside and health resorts. Two-fifths of the social insurance fund is spent on retirement pensions, while the expenditure to cure sickness and illness is to be raised in 1950 to three-tenths of the fund.

At this session the decisions of the W.F.T.U. were approved—and were to be made known widely among the workers. More and more workers were to be drawn into the activities of the trade unions, to educate them in the spirit of internationalism.

> All the activities of the trade unions in the Republic are closely united with the fight for peace. The workers have expressed their desire to fight in the defence of peace against the instigations of the warmongers and imperialists by participating in all demonstrations of workers' international solidarity, side by side with all those who are fighting in the great front of peace, democracy and Socialism and who are being led from victory to victory by the great leadership of the Soviet Union.

There is no room for a yellow Labour Front in a People's Democracy.

## COMMUNICATION

REVIEWING my *Studies in Ancient Greek Society* in *The Labour Monthly* last August, Professor Gordon Childe wrote:

> In demonstrating the communal tenure of land in prehistoric Greece Thomson tries to prove that the lands were allotted in long and narrow strips, presumably because the most familiar system of communal tenure in medieval Europe involved the division of land into such strips. Actually these strips were conditioned by the rural economy adapted to the soils and climates of northern Europe, were never used outside a well-defined area, and even in Britain and Holland succeeded an older system based on square 'Celtic' fields. In reality the passages cited would prove cultivation of square fields more appropriate to the Mediterranean conditions—but I fear they prove nothing at all.

It seems that in making these observations Professor Childe was relying on Dr. E. C. Curwen's inter-



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pretation of the archæological data rather than on the data themselves. Dr. Curwen's views may be summarised as follows:

From some time in the Bronze Age down to the end of the Roman period the soil was tilled with a light plough, drawn by one or two oxen, which did little more than scratch the surface. In order to break up the soil more effectively the ground was ploughed twice over, the second line of furrows being driven across the first. The practice of cross-ploughing determined the shape of the field, which was square.

In the first century of our era a heavy wheeled plough was introduced, drawn by a team of oxen, and suited to heavy soils. It appeared first in Rhaetia (Wurtemberg and Bayern), spread northwards across France and Germany, and was brought to Britain by the Anglo-Saxon invaders. With this instrument, which cut deep, cross ploughing was unnecessary, and so the square acre was superseded by the strip acre. The furrows were made as long as possible to reduce the number of turns.

Believing, as he does, that the strip acre presupposes the heavy wheeled plough, which was unknown in ancient Greece, Curwen holds that Greece must have been a country of square acres.

In a recent issue of *The Archæological Journal* (1949) H. G. Payne has subjected Curwen's whole theory to a searching and apparently devastating examination. I am not concerned with this wider aspect of the matter, but merely with the distribution of this strip acre.

According to Curwen's own data (taken from Seebohm) the strip acre has been traced in Portugal, in the Danube basin, and in the South of Italy. Its appearance in these regions is unexplained. And his data are far from complete. The old lay-out, with the arable cut in strips, can still be seen in parts of Switzerland, Southern Germany, Bohemia, Slovakia, Transylvania and Yugoslavia; and—what is still more to the point—the village community, based on the open-field system, with long and narrow strips, is still a going concern in many parts of Syria, the Lebanon, Transjordan and Iraq. See D. Warriner, *Economics of Peasant Farming*, 1939, pp. 10-11; *Land and Poverty in the Middle East*, 1948, pp. 123-4. The latter work is cited in my book, p. 325, n. 23. There are several systematic studies of land-tenure in the Middle East: see A. Latron, *La vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban*, 1936; J. Weulersse, *Les paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, 1946, and R. Patai, 'Musha's Tenure and Co-operation in Palestine', *The American Anthropologist*, 1949, p. 436. Latron gives a number of village maps, in which the reader can measure the strips for himself, and Patai says that in one village the strips are 2,300 yards long and only five yards wide. The plough is a light one, drawn by a pair of oxen. There is no mention of cross-ploughing.

Since writing my book I have collected further evidence in support of my account of Greek land-tenure. This will be presented elsewhere. In the meantime it is clear that there is no foundation for the current view, accepted by Childe, that the strip acre is dependent on the soil and climate of Northern Europe and unsuited to Mediterranean conditions.

GEORGE THOMSON

## Book Reviews

### QUAKER PEACE PROPOSALS

*The United States and the Soviet Union.* Some Quaker Proposals for Peace. (Oxford University Press, pp. 38, 1*s*.)

FEW things are more important in the world-wide struggle for peace than the existence in the United States of America of numbers of level-headed men and women who have not allowed themselves to be-



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come the victims of the prevailing hysteria. This little book is the work of one such group. It is a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee and has been reprinted in this country on the initiative of the Industrial and Social Order Council of the Society of Friends. So Friends on both sides of the Atlantic have demonstrated their will to peace. It would be possible to disagree with specific formulations or particular statements in the Report: but those who would disagree with its temper or the general line of its conclusions must expose themselves as warmongers, as enemies of the human race.

These Friends believe that there is a widespread desire for peace throughout the world; that for a very long time to come Communism and Capitalism must co-exist and that this is perfectly possible; that it is highly questionable whether security can be found in a high level of armaments but that a high level of armaments 'can weaken democratic governments, where they now exist, by leading to restrictions on civil liberties and by reducing the standards of living of their peoples'. They believe that it would be quite practicable, given only wise statesmanship, to relieve existing tensions, and while holding that the U.S.S.R. could make contributions to this they hold it to be their business to make proposals for changing American policy and so to assist an American contribution. They do this in three vital fields, that of U.S. economic policy to the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe which they regard as not only ungenerous and unwise, but also useless; that of U.S. policy in Germany, and here they see the conclusion of a peace treaty with a unified Germany as basic; and that of U.S. policy with respect to the United Nations and disarmament. They do not think that anything the U.S. says in this last regard will command belief unless it is backed by a substantial reduction of expenditure on armaments.

This is the work of men who are wise and honest and brave. It is in the true American tradition of Common Sense Paine. May it receive the support it deserves.

STANLEY EVANS

## COMMUNISTS AND EDUCATION

*Communist Education.* By M. I. Kalinin. Selected Speeches and Articles. (479 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 2*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS collection of speeches of M. I. Kalinin on Communist Education covering a period of nearly twenty years, including the period of the Second World War, illumines more than any book I have come across the source of the profound unshakable confidence of the Soviet leaders and of the Soviet people. It reveals the tremendous power of Marxist-Leninist theory when applied to the everyday life of the Soviet peoples. It is a priceless handbook for the practical Marxist in whatever sphere he may be working. It is also a worthy memorial to the character and personality of a great Soviet leader.

Here is Kalinin's definition of Communist Education: 'Communist principles, taken in their elementary form, are the principles of highly educated, honest, advanced people; they are love for one's Socialist motherland, friendship, comradeship, humanity, honesty, love for Socialist labour and a great many other universally understood lofty qualities. The nurturing, the cultivation of these attributes, of these lofty qualities, is the most important component part of Communist Education'.

This insistence on principle, or as he calls it elsewhere 'a principled life', recalls a phrase which was common years ago in our Labour movement but which we do not hear today—'a man of principle'. It is these principles, together with a pro-



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found confidence in the new Socialist world, which permeate every speech, whether Kalinin is addressing members of the Komsomol, teachers, school-leavers, or students.

All the speeches are marked by an insistence on the concrete application of Marxist-Leninist principles to a given problem and by a human, simple and modest approach.

Time and again Kalinin insists on the value of 'exchange of views', of a 'tussle' at a conference, of criticism and self-criticism. He has no use for complacency or dull conformity. But always his criticisms are put forward with a modesty and a sympathetic understanding of human nature which disarms and encourages the criticised. They are often salted with a dash of ironic but homely humour: 'Some people wait for the thunderstorm to break before they cross themselves'. To the Communist who puts off serious study in difficult times he says: 'But I must say that he who does not augment his knowledge when times are difficult, will most certainly say when there's less work to do that he needs a rest and that knowledge is not important anyway'.

These 28 short speeches touch on all the phases of Soviet life during the war. They give a vivid human picture of some of the many thousands of ordinary people who led the U.S.S.R. to victory, of their difficulties, their shortcomings as well as of their confidence and heroism. They reveal too the qualities of one of their great leaders and of his attitude to his people at great moments of history.

G. C. T. GILES

## MICHURIN: A MAN WITH A MISSION

*Selected Works.* I. V. Michurin. (pp. 494, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 15*s*.)

MICHURIN was a man with a mission. From youth he devoted his life to providing Russia with first-rate fruit varieties, suited to each of its varied climatic regions. The opening chapter of this book briefly recounts his amazing struggle against official opposition and academic obscurantism in Tsarist Russia. One of the first acts of the young Soviet State was to provide him with all the facilities and help he needed. With that assistance he was able to originate 300 valuable new varieties of hard and soft fruits, some of which are now thriving in arctic and sub-arctic regions of the U.S.S.R. where fruit production was never before conceived to be possible.

As important as these material achievements were his contributions to the development of biological theory. As his practical experience grew he became more and more convinced that Mendelism provided an insufficient, and indeed an incorrect basis, for successful plant-breeding. In particular he stressed the importance of environmental influence during development and he found new and subtle ways for changing the constitution of plants by appropriate control of environmental influences. His use of grafting techniques is particularly interesting.

Today, his pupil Lysenko is proud to describe the new Soviet biological theory as Michurinism. Some British biologists have professed themselves unable to evaluate the Michurinist approach to problems of heredity because of a lack of experimental and observational data. This book, nearly 500 pages long, gives us a generous first instalment of the massive evidence which Russian biologists have had at their disposal. Now we also can study it and can begin to appreciate the essential truth of Michurin's well-known principle—'We cannot wait for favours from Nature; we must wrest them from her'.

One cannot conclude a review of this edition of Michurin's *Selected Works* without commenting on the excellence of the typography and illustrations. It would be cheap at four times the price. P. W. BRIAN



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## LETTERS OF AN ITALIAN MARXIST

Antonio Labriola, *Lettres á Engels.* (XIV & 237 pp., Edizioni Rinascita, Rome, 1949, 400 *lire.*)

ANTONIO Labriola (not to be confused with *Arturo* Labriola) was an Italian philosopher who at the end of the last century became a convert to Marxism from Hegelianism, described himself even at that date as 'a Communist', and who occupied the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Rome. These letters written by him to Engels belong to the years 1890-95: a period during which the class struggle in Italy was becoming sharper and mass revolt was becoming for the first time national in scale. The Italian Socialist Party was formed at this time; and Engels gave frequent advice to the Italian Socialists. His most frequent correspondent was Labriola. Unfortunately Engels' letters to Labriola have never been found. Those of Labriola to Engels were in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party, but remained unpublished until in 1924 the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow obtained a photographic copy of them and published them in a Russian translation (on which this present edition is based).

In many of these letters criticism is expressed of the corruption and pettiness of the *petit-bourgeois* elements which were influential in the leadership of the Socialist Party (especially the Reformist leader Turati; also the writer and pseudo-Marxist Loria). In fact, as the editor of this volume states, Labriola was even inclined to adopt too negative an attitude in his criticism and to underestimate the role of the Socialist Party at this period in bringing the Italian workers into political activity for the first time. In Gramsci's words, with 'the pessimism of the intellect' Labriola did not couple an equally strong 'optimism of the will'. But although his thought did not have much direct and immediate influence on the Italian working class movement, his writings were translated abroad and made a contribution to the international heritage of Marxism. One of his last letters in 1895 accompanies a copy of his essay on the *Communist Manifesto* which he sends to Engels (the essay which appeared in *Essays on the Materialist Conception of History* published in an English translation in 1908 by Charles H. Kerr, of Chicago).

D.M.

## SHORTER NOTICES

*Anglo-Soviet Journal.* Winter, 1949. (Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., 48 pp., 2*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS issue of a well-known Quarterly merits special attention because it is devoted to contributions by members of the Soviet cultural delegation that came to Britain to mark the 25th anniversary of the Society for Cultural Relations. Nearly 20 years ago the first notable impact of Soviet scientific thought on scientists in this country resulted from the visit of a Soviet delegation to an international conference in London on the history of science. The present delegation, which carried out a wide programme of personal contacts and public lectures, has performed a similar service, especially in refuting current anti-Soviet distortions about Soviet science and art. One of the major contributions to this issue of the Journal is the statement by Professor Glushchenko on 'Fundamental Principles of Michurin Genetics' which cannot fail to convince the reader that the work of the Lysenko school, however controversial, has indeed opened up tremendous vistas for the practical and theoretical advance of biological science. Soviet music, literature, history and art are all dealt with in the number by Soviet experts in these fields.

C.P.D.



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*Crisis and Cure.* By The Labour Independent Group. (28 pp., 6*d.*)

WRITTEN by D. N. Pritt. Lester Hutchinson, John Platts-Mills and Leslie Solley, Socialist members of the 1945-50 Parliament and of the Labour Independent Group formed in 1949. The preface states: 'We were all in the Labour Party for many years until our expulsion and were all expelled from the Party by its National Executive—Pritt in 1940, Platts-Mills in 1948 and the other two in 1949—for offering Left Wing opposition in one form or another to the foreign policy adopted by the leadership of the party'. Here, then, is their 'practicable and constructive alternative' which Labour Party members could democratically compel the Labour Party to carry out. A.T.

*Serving My Time.* By Harry Pollitt (pp. 292, Lawrence and Wishart, 5*s.*)

A REPRINT of the reminiscences of childhood and early manhood by this great mass leader. First reviewed in *Labour Monthly*, May, 1940, by Sean O'Casey. It will have the same vivid impact on the under-thirties today that it had on the whole movement ten years ago. A.P.

# PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**BOOKS**

An Outline of Finance (4th Edition). Arthur Woodburn, P.C., M.P., N.C.L.C. Publishing Society, Ltd. 4s. 179 pp.
A New Way of Life. The Collective Settlement of Israel. Foreword by Sir Wyndham Deedes, Shindler & Colomb. 12s. 6d. 146 pp.
Social Science Studies. The Ship of State. Edward Jenks. Duckworth. 8s. 6d. 215 pp.
Politics, Trials and Errors. Lord Hankey. Pen-in-Hand Books. 8s. 6d. 150 pp.
Labor and Management in a Common Enterprise. Dorothea De Schweinitz. Harvard University Press (Cumberlege). 16s. 186 pp.
Science Russian Course. Maximilian Fourman University Tutorial Press, Ltd. 10s. 6d. 274 pp.
The Great Conspiracy. Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Current Book Distribs. Sydney. 2s. 6d. 160 pp.
The English Parliament, K. Mackenzie. Pelican Books. 204 pp. 1s. 6d.
The Spirit of Russian Economics, J. F. Normano. Dobson. 123 pp. 8s. 6d.
Currency and Credit, R. G. Hawtrey. Longmans. 475 pp. 25s.
Behind the Ration Book, J. F. Blitz. Fabian Society. 109 pp. 3s. 6d.
The Trial of Traicho Kostov and his Group. 644 pp. (Official Report of the Bulgarian Government).
Tudor England, S. D. Bindoff. Pelican Books. 318 pp. 1s. 6d.
The Life of William Morris, J. W. Mackail. World's Classics. 580 pp. 7s.
Modern Works Management, G. Samuel Mason. Pitman. 210 pp. 15s.

**BOOKLETS**

The Valley is Paying Off. T.V.A. 1949. U.S. Govt. Printing Office. 15c. 98 pp.
Probleme der Planwirtschaft. Joseph Winternitz, Verlag die Wirtschaft, Berlin. 48 pp.
The Economic Crisis and the Cold War Conference at Jefferson School of Social Science. New Century Publishers, New York. $1.00. 113 pp.
Planned Economy in Czechoslovakia. Institute for Economic and Social Research. Orbis, Prague. 149 pp.
The Czechoslovak Economic Five-Year Plan. Act and Govt. Memorandum. Ministry of Information. 258 pp.
Keeping Left—New Statesman Group. New Statesman. 48 pp. 6d.
Vasil Kolarov, Press Dept. Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Masques et Visages de Tito et des Siens, Dominique Desanti. Editions du Pavillon, Paris 126 pp. 150 fr.
The National Corporation for the Care of Old People (Second Annual Report).
Lenin und die Agrarfrage in Deutschland, J. Winternitz. Dietz Verlag, Berlin. 48 pp. 40 DM.
Pravda Articles, J. V. Stalin. Soviet News. 74 pp. 3d.
Paix Immediate au Viet Nam, Jeannette Vermeersch. The Communist Party of France. 64 pp. 10 fr.
Le Proces de Wroclaw. Francis Cremieux. Editions de l'Amitié Franco-Polonaise. 32 pp. 10 fr.

**PAMPHLETS**

The Population Problem. News Chronicle Summary of the Report of the Royal Commission on Population.
Bulgaria. Fact and Fancy. New Central European Observer. Pamphlet No. 1. 3d. 7 pp.
Religious Freedom in Bulgaria, and the Pastor's Trial. New Central European Observer. Pamphlet No. 2. 6d. 31 pp.
Constitution of the Hungarian Peoples Republic. Budapest, 1949. 20 pp.



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From Carlisle: 'I'm so sorry I can't raise the money for even a half year's sub, nor at the present moment help the fund. I must get my copy month by month; but until times improve, I'll send 1s. 6d. instead of 1s. for it'. A mere sixpence? Yes, but if all who felt the same way as 'Carlisle' were to send a mere sixpence or shilling we should have a regular guaranteed fund of, say, £150 a month in no time.

## EXETER STANDS IN

The two readers who appear each month among the regular contributors as 'Exeter' have something quite new and challenging to say on this point. You will remember that they were among those who sent money as 'stand in' for 'Leicester' when he had to suspend his guarantee last summer. Now they write, that although 'Leicester' is holding the fort for himself again, they want to stand in for another town. Each month, apart from their own regular 'steady money' guarantee, they propose to send some 'stand-in-money' which I am to allocate, 1s. a time, in the name of some town which is not yet providing a regular guarantee. This month, then, Exeter (population 66,000) has sent 8s.; 'stand in' for Aberdeen, Belfast, Birmingham, Ilfracombe, Manchester, Norwich, Swansea and Weymouth (total population well over 2,750,000!). Now, any native of these towns, big or small, or someone with a sentimental regard for them, can rescue them from the benevolent patronage of 'Exeter's' 'stand in' and promote them to the 'steady money' group. It costs you 1s. per month per town.

This month I have no space for overseas news, except to mention the joyous surprise of the staff here on receiving a certain very solid piece of evidence of international goodwill from four readers in New Zealand. You're a bonny breed, you New Zealanders! A warm thank you. As to the fund total, I am hoping great things in March, anxiously awaiting the final February figure and sad to have to report that January could produce no more than

# £34 9s. 7d.

Regular contributors were:

D. M. Clarke, 10s; J. and K. Ekevall, 2s 6d; E. D. McCallum, 5s; H.G.B., 2s; D. F. Oakeshott, 12s 11d; L. Rowan, 6s; 'Exeter', 5s; H. Willcox, 2s; J. Thomas, 5s; R.F.B., £3; T. Flood, 2s 6d; C.B. (Bristol), 1s 6d; D. Mayo, 10s; H. N. Humphreys, 3s 6d; 'L'Humanité', 3s; Royston Green, 7s; H.S.M., 2s 6d; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; J. L. Smith, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; R. McLeod, 5s; Anon., Whitchurch, 1s; Malayan Student, 10s; T.W.R., £1; Olivia Greene, £2; H. Zinkler, 5s; F. Renouf, 5s; 'Leicester', 5s; D.M., 6s; Socialist Sailor, £1; P. N. Brinson, 10s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d.

Other contributors include:

S. Harrison, 3s; F. Brown, 4s; E. Winstanley, 3s; S. C. Fullerton, 2s; R. Barrett, £1; E. J. Stout, 8s; G. E. R. Travell, 10s; R. Boughton, 15s; R. F. Thomas, 8s; J. Redfern, 8s; T. Chapman, 2s 6d; L. Shapiro, 8s; A. L. Beak, 8s; L. M. Brierley, 8s; J. Turnbull, 8s; A. Walker, 8s; R. Gardner, 1s 6d; J. Gray, 8s; D. H. Strathern, 8s; S.J.W., 7s 6d; M. Nicholas, 5s; C. M. Hall, 4s; L. S. Kidd, 8s; J.R.F., 2s 6d; C. C. Bradsworth, 8s; P. H. Plumb, £1 8s; A.A.H. (S. Africa), 7s; A. Collindridge, 8s; C.P. (S. Africa), 7s; T.R., 'Leeds', 8s; 'Indious', £1 7s; J. Besserman, 8s; J.S. (U.S.A.), 14s 6d; R. N. P. Humphreys, 1s; G. Jane, 2s; P. M. Ward, 6d; L. E. Raimundez, 5s; D. K. Flinn, £1; B. Spary, 9s; F. W. Thompson, 8s; D. Duxbury, 8s; F. C. Cracknell, 4s; F.C.St.J.E. (S. Africa), 7s; T.K.H. (U.S.A.), 7s; L.H. (U.S.A.), 14s 8d; B.E. (U.S.A.), 10s; W.B.M. (U.S.A.), 10s.

Our thanks to you all

ANGELA TUCKETT

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